PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES

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30 p.

[n.p., 1894]

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SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES.

By E. R. WHARTON.

(1) The modern theory that the 'prothetic,' or, as the Greek grammarians called it (Curtius, Grundzüge,[5] 720), 'prosthetic,' vowel is in most cases really the first vowel of an originally bi-vocalic root can scarcely be rejected (*a*) where other languages besides Greek have a similar vowel, as in ἔρεβος ἐρεύγομαι ὄλοφυς besides Armenian *erek orcam oλb* (Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 246, n.), or (*b*) where two forms can be best explained by starting from a bi-vocalic root, *e.g.* αὔξω Sk. *vaksh-* from **aveks-** in ἀ(F)έξω, αὔρᾱ[1] Sk. *vā-* from **avē-** in ἄ(F)ημι, Lat. *unguis* Sk. *nakhás* from **onokhv-** in ὄνυξ: though why one language dropt the second vowel and another the first we do not in the least know. But in some cases such an explanation is impossible, and the word must be regarded as a compound.

A. Latin *in-cānus in-clutus in-columis* and I think *in-vītus* are but emphatic forms of *cānus clutus columis* and * *vītus* 'forced': '*in* enim saepe augendi causa adicimus,' says Festus. This *in-* may be identified with the Preposition *in* meaning 'upon' (quite a different word from *in* meaning 'in,' which goes with ἐν), Greek ἀνά in ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ (=in sceptro). The original meaning was 'up' and so 'upon' (cf. German *auf* in both these senses), while in the Latin Adjectives given above and the Greek Adjectives to be given below we have a transition of signification from 'up' to 'in a high degree, quite.' The form in the Ursprache would be ṇ, represented in Latin by *in-*, in Greek by ἀν- before a vowel,[2] ἀ- before a consonant, as in the following words:

ἀ-βληχρός 'weak, gentle,' beside βληχρός. The termination, which appears also in βδελυ-χρός μελι-χρός πενι-χρός, must go

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[1] In the only place in which it occurs in Homer, Od. 5. 469, αὔρη means the *morning* breeze, ἠῶθι πρό; and with it in this sense Buttmann rightly connects αὔριον 'in the morning, to-morrow.' So in my 'Etyma Graeca' I have explained Homer's ἠώς, Lesbian αὔως, as from ᾱϜō-, an Ablaut of **avē-** in ἄημι: to a people dwelling near the Mediterranean the morning breeze would be the natural herald of dawn. The Attic form ἕως takes its aspiration and accent from ἥλιος.

[2] In some dialects before a consonant also, Hom. ἀν 'up,' Theocr. ὀμ-μιμνα-σκομένῳ (in which the vocalism shows the presence of a sonant).

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with χροιά χρώς 'surface, skin, colour,' so that βλη-χρός means
'weak-looking, weakly': the root is mlē- (not mlā-, since βλη-
χρός occurs in Doric), Sk. *mlā-* 'to wither,' with Ablaut mlō-
in Irish *blāith* 'smooth, soft,' and mele- in μέλεος 'useless.'—
Quite a different word is βλᾱ́ξ 'slack,' in which the ā must
be due to contraction (Kretschmer K.Z. 31, 295), or we should
have *βλήξ: as νέᾱξ or νέηξ comes from νέος, so I would explain
βλᾱ́ξ as for *βλαϜᾱ́ξ or *βλαϜήξ, from a simpler form *βλαϜός,
mlvós, Lat. *mollis* for *molvis. The root appears in Gothic
ga-malvjan 'to crush,' and Eng. *mellow.*

ἀ-θέσφατος 'marvellous,' beside θέσφατος 'divine': literally
'struck (*i.e.* made) by a god,' cf. πρόσ-φατος 'made in addition,
new,' and δί-φατος (Hesychius) δί-φασιος 'made double.' The
root of this -φατος is ghvn̥-, ghven-, in θείνω[1] 'strike,' μυλή-
φατοϡ 'struck by the millstone,' and, with a transfer of meaning,
φόνος 'slaughter,' Ἀρηί-φατος 'slain in battle.'—The first element
of θέσ-φατος appears with a 'determinative' o (Brugmann,
Grundriss, 2. 60) in θεός, *i.e.* *θεσός: which, however, can hardly
go (as Fick thinks it may, Wörterbuch⁴ 1. 469) with Lithuanian
dwasės 'spirit,' Middle High German *ge-twās* 'ghost,' for the
Greek gods were by no means spiritual beings.

So we have ἀ-μαυρός 'dim,' beside μαυρός (Photius); and in
Il. 24. 753 the two readings ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν and μιχθαλόεσσαν, a
word of unknown derivation (the connexion with ὀμῑχέω, Hoffmann,
Bezz. Beitr. 15. 84, is absurd). So I would explain the ἀ- as
intensive in

ἀ-γέρωχος, *γερά-οχος 'holding privileges.'

ἀ-(Ϝ)ήσυλος 'wicked,' beside Sk. *vātulas* 'mad.' On this
dialectic change of τυ to συ see Classical Review 6. 259: I
connect ἁλο-σύδνη 'goddess of the sea wave' with Irish *tond*
'wave,' ἀσύφηλος (below) with τυφλός, συχνός 'long, numerous'
with τυχών 'ordinary,' as a Litotes for 'considerable.' Thus alone
can we fairly explain δασύς and Lat. *densus* (*i.e.* *dent-tos) beside
Albanian de*nt* 'to make thick.'

ἄ-κρος 'at the top' (it never means 'sharp,' and therefore
cannot go with ἀκίς, Lat. *acuō*), beside φαλα-κρός 'white-headed'[2]

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[1] As Lat. *feriō* means both 'strike' and 'cheat,' and κροῦσις both 'striking'
and 'cheating' (Ar. Nub. 317), so with θείνω I would connect φένᾱξ 'cheat': a
Doric word, like κόβᾱλος 'rogue,' as the ā, for η, shows, with a dialectic φ for θ
as in φεός for θεός (G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.² 211).

[2] The first element is bhl̥-n̥-, cf. bhl̥-n- in φαλλός 'white' (Hesychius) and
Lat. *fullō* 'clothes-cleaner.'

(Schulze, Quaestiones Epicae 464), from a by-form of κάρᾱ. On these by-forms see Danielsson's Grammatische und Etymologische Studien pp. 1–56, Johansson K.Z. 30. 347–350, Johannes Schmidt's Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra pp. 363–379. From the same root as κάρᾱ we may deduce (a) καῖρος (i.e. *κάρϳος) 'thrum,' end or top of the thread; (b) κάρτος κράτος 'headship, power,' quite a different word from κραταί-λεως 'rocky,' Gothic *hardus* 'hard' (with which we may put κέρτομα 'hard words'); (c) κλῆρος 'lot,' a Dissimilation for *κρᾶρος, cf. Arcadian Κραριῶται and Rhodian Ἧλο-κράρης (Meister, Griechischen Dialekte 2. 104, G. Meyer 160), the word thus meaning 'head' as sign of individuality, going with ναύ-κλῆρος ναύ-κρᾱρος 'householder' (whatever the first element of these words may be) and Hesychius' κραῖρα 'head''; (d) κραιπάλη 'headache,' for *κρασι-παλη 'a fight in one's head,' the first element being Locative of *κράς, while from another form *κρᾱ-πάλη is borrowed Lat. *crāpula*:

ἀ-μείνων 'better,' from μένος 'strength :'

ἀ-σκηθής 'safe,' quasi 'supported, cared for' (cf. with Active meaning, σκεθρός 'careful'); a Dissimilation for *ἀ-σχηθής, from the root of σχῆμα, ἔχω (in σχεθεῖν the χ is retained through the analogy of σχεῖν):

ἀ-σπερχές 'hastily,' from σπέρχω 'hasten':

ἀ-στεμφής 'stiff,' from a root meaning 'to be hard,' whence also στέμφυλα 'pressed grapes,' Sk. *stambh-* 'to restrain, hold fast':

ἀ-σύφηλος (with Aeolic accent) 'insulting,' *τυφηλός (see above on ἀήσυλος) going with τυφλός 'blind,' τῡφώδης 'dull,' τῦφος 'conceit':

ἀ-ταρτηρός 'baneful,' *ταρτή a Subst. from *ταρτός Part. of τείρειν 'to distress':

ἀ-τενής 'strained,' Lat. *in-tentus*, from τείνω:

ἀ-τρύγετος 'swelling,' Lat. *turgidus*, from a root **tver-g-** (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), an extension of the root **tver-** (see on σαυρωτήρ sec. 5, and, on the ρυ, ῥύζω, p. 11):

ἀ-υσταλέος 'squalid,' Od. 19. 327, cf. Sk. *çush-* 'to dry,' Lat. *sū-dus* 'dry'; from *ἀ-συσταλέος as ἄυπνος from *ἄσυπνος.

So, with ἀν- for n̥- before a vowel, I would explain ἀν-άεδνος 'quite dowerless,' ἀν-άελπτος 'quite unlooked for,' and Hesiod's ἀν-άπνευστος 'quite breathless,' Suidas' ἀν-άγνωστος ἀν-άπταιστος (J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 273).

B. The same intensive particle appears in several Verbs: Lat. *incitó infringō ingeminó innovó intremō* etc. beside *citó frangō*

etc., Greek ἀσκαρίζω ἀσπαίρω 'palpitate' beside σκαρίζω σπαίρω, ἀσφαραγέω 'clank' (Theocr. 17. 94) beside σφαραγέομαι 'burst,' and ἀ-κούω 'hear' beside κο(F)έω 'perceive.' So

ἀ(F)είδω 'sing' beside οἶδα : *i.e.* ἀείδω used absolutely means 'make my meaning known,' used with an Acc. 'make known, celebrate.' In the original signification 'know' we have (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 62) Cyprian ἄειδε 'hear' and the common word αἰσθάνομαι (*i.e.* *ἀ-Fιδ-θάνομαι) 'perceive' : for the transition of meaning from 'know' to 'make known' cf. ἱστορία 'knowledge' (τὸ εἰδέναι) or 'narrative' (τὸ εἰδέναι ποιεῖν), and γιγνώσκω 'know' beside γνωρίζω 'make known' :

ἀ-λέγω 'heed' beside Lat. *lego in dīligō intelligō neglegō (quite a different word, as the Perfects show, from legō 'gather'). From a Neuter Subst. *ἄλεγος comes ἀλεγεινός 'demanding caution, troublesome' ; which, with Ablaut, and without the intensive ἀ-, appears in Hesychius' λαγεινά· δεινά. From this *ἄλεγος come further (*a*) δυσ-ηλεγής 'cruelly troublesome,' Homeric epithet of war and death ; (*b*) ταν-ηλεγής 'intensely troublesome,' used of death, with the derived sense of τανύω 'stretch,' as in the Homeric use with ἔριδα, μάχην, πόνον, 'to intensify' the strife, etc. ; (*c*) ἀπ-ηλεγέως 'most carefully,' the ἀπο- heightening the meaning :

ἀ-λείφω 'smear,' cf. Lat. dē-libūtus 'besmeared' :

ἀ-λυκτάζω ἀ-λύσσω 'am in distress,' going with λύσσα (*i.e.* *λύκ-ja), which in Homer means 'martial rage,' the spirit of a wolf, λύκος : in Il. 16. 156 and 352 warriors are compared to wolves, and Theocr. 4. 11 πεῖσαι τοι Μίλων καὶ τὼς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσσῆν. shows that the Greeks themselves connected λύσσα with λύκος. With these words go μορμο-λύττεσθαι 'to madden as a hobgoblin, μορμώ,[1] would,' and μορμο·λυκεῖον 'bugbear,' literally 'hobgoblin wolf' :

ἀ-μαλδΰνω 'destroy,' from *μαλδύς, Sk. mr̥dús 'soft.'

ἀμέλγω, cf. Lat. mulgeō.

C. In three other Verbs we have the 'copulative' ἀ- of ἀθρόος ἅπᾱς ἁπλόος, dialectically ἀ- in ἀδελφός ἄκοιτις ἀκόλουθος ἄλοχος ἀτάλαντος ; representing sm̥-, ἅμ-α, Lat. simul, Sk. sam 'with' (as a Preposition) or, in compounds, 'together.' This appears as ἀ- in

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[1] With μορμώ go μόρμοι 'panics' (Hesychius) and I think μέρμερος 'mischievous,' μέρμηρα 'trouble,' and μορμύρων in Il. 18. 402 ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο ἀφρῷ μορμύρων, rightly explained by Hesychius as ταράσσων 'making an uproar' : it has nothing to do with Lat. murmur, which would give far too weak a meaning.

(a) ἀ-μαρτάνω 'fail' (the root, on which see Neisser B.B. 19. 120 sq.,
may perhaps be found in Lat. mora), with which cf. Hesychius'
ἀμαρεῖν· ἁμαρτάνειν and Homer's ἤμβροτον; as ἀ- in (b) ἀ-μείβω
' exchange' beside Lat. mīgrō ' remove' and Old Slavonic miglivŭ
' mobile,' and (c) ἀ-μεύομαι ' surpass' ('change places with') beside
Lat. moveō. In these Verbs the copulative prefix, like the (of
course unrelated) Lat. com- in commaculō comminuō concitō convellō
etc., merely ' gives intensity to the signification of the simple
word,' Lewis and Short s.v. cum. With the same force it appears
in ἀ-μολγός, which Eustathius says was 'Achaean' for ἀκμή 'prime'
(as Hesiod Op. 588 uses ἀμολγαίη of a 'prime' cake, μᾶζα): I
would connect the word with mlg- in Lettish milst ' to swell,'
Lat. multus for *mulctus (Wiedemann B.B. 13. 303 sq.), so that it
will mean 'swelling, climax,' and νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ will be Cicero's
multā nocte ' late at night.'

A copulative, though not an intensive, ἀ- seems to appear in

ἀ-οσσητήρ 'helper,' which I would explain as ' one who hears a
divine voice (Ϝόσσα, as ὄσσα may everywhere be read in Homer,
L. Meyer K.Z. 28. 90: the root appears in Lat. vocō), and in
obedience to it goes to help his comrades.' Hesychius has also the
form ὀσσητῆρα, referring, according to Moriz Schmidt, to Il. 15. 254
τοῖόν τοι (ἀ)οσσητῆρα Κρονίων ἐξ Ἴδης προέηκε, in which case the
word must necessarily have had a digamma:

ἀ-σβολος ' soot,' quasi 'thrown together, collected,' from βάλλω.
The σβ is the same dialectic representative of gv which Fick
B.B. 17. 323 finds in φερέ-σβιος ' life-giving' and σβέννῡμι
' quench.' (Goth. qistjan ' to destroy'): and which I find, before
other vowels than ε or ι, in (a) ἀμφί-σβαινα ' a serpent that can
go either way' and ἀμφι-σβητέω ' dispute,' both from βαίνω;
and (b) φλοῖσβος ' din,' the clash produced by the impact of one
heavy body on another, from a root bhleigv-, cf. φλίβω θλίβω
' rub,' Lat. flīgō ' strike,' Welsh blif ' catapult.'—Another dialectic
representative of gv was ζ, Eur. Phoen. 45 ἐπεζάρει=ἐπεβάρει,
Hesychius ζέλλειν ζέρεθρα ζείναμεν=βάλλειν βάραθρα σβέννυμεν.
So I think in (a) ζάλη 'spray' from βάλλω; (b) ζᾶλος 'jealousy' [1]
beside Lith. gėla ' pain,' Old High German quāla ' torment';
(c) ζάψ ' sea,' and Homer's ἐπι-ζάφελος ' stormy,' from βάπτω,
the sea ' dipping ' the ships, cf. Eur. Orest. 706 ναῦς . . . ἔβαψεν

[1] The ā here is Ablaut of ē as in κᾱρός beside Lat. cēra, μάκων beside Old
High German māgo, see Johansson B.B. 15. 306 sq.

'the ship sank,' Old Norse *kaf* 'a dive, the deep'; (*d*) ζάω ζώω quasi 'walk,' and δίζημαι ζητέω quasi 'go about,' all from βαίνω: (*e*) ῥοῖζος 'whistling' beside ῥοῖβ-δος (for the termination cf. ῥάβ-δος).

D. Beside the copulative **sm**-, Greek ἁ- or ἀ-, there appears a parallel form **so**-, Sk. *sa*-, Greek ὀ-. We have it in Hesychius' ὀγάστωρ ὄξυγες ὄθροος ὄξυλον (Schulze 495), Homer's ὄπατρος and Il. 2. 765 ὄτριχας οἰέτεας (the latter, despite Schulze, a miswriting for *οὐέτεας, *i e.* *ὀ-Ϝέτεας*); and I think in ὀ-δούς, Armenian *a-tamn*, each a Singular formed out of a Plural signifying 'the united teeth, the rows of teeth,' as perhaps ἀστήρ ἄστρον Arm. *astλ* are Singulars formed out of Plurals signifying 'the whole body of stars,' the initial vowel in each word being a copulative prefix.

E. In two important words the initial ἐ- or ἑ- seems reduplicative, standing for *se*-:

ἐσθλός 'brave, good' =*σε-στλός, from the root of στέλλω 'set in order,' the meaning thus being 'ready, settled, steadfast.' The Greeks found a difficulty in pronouncing the combination στλ, which occurs in no old word (στλεγγίς 'scraper' appears first in Hippocrates, ὄστλιγξ 'curl' in Attic): they preferred either (1) to aspirate the τ, Attic ναυσθλόω 'convey by sea' beside ναυστολέω, Hom. ἱμάσθλη 'whip' with the same termination as ἐχέτλη, Att. μάσθλης 'leather' from the same root as μάστιξ 'whip,' and so, I think, ἐσθλός; or (2) to drop the s, τλεγγίς—or the τ, Sappho μάσλης 'leather,' Doric and Lesbian ἐσλός and Arcadian ἐσλός (which last must represent *ἐστλός, not *ἐσθλός, or it would have a smooth breathing)—or both letters, Att. ναῦλον 'fare' beside Hesychius' ναῦσθλον; or (3) to change the λ to ρ, στρεγγίς; or (4) to insert a vowel, ὀστάλιγξ (as M. Schmidt reads ὀστάλαιξ in Hesychius), στελεγγίς.—The same στέλλω appears, I would suggest, in ὀφθαλμός from *ὀπ-σταλ-μός 'arrangement for seeing,' the first element going with ὄμμα ὄπωπα ὄψις: *ὀψταλμός became ὀφθαλμός as *ἐψτός, the proper Participle of ἕψω, became ἐφθός:

ἑστίᾱ 'hearth, altar' (in Homer only in the compounds ἀνέστιος ἐφέστιος) =*σε-στίᾱ from a root **stĭ**- 'stone,' whence στῖον 'pebble' and I think περί·στια 'lustration of the Ecclesia' by carrying a victim round the altar, and, with Ablaut, Goth. *stains* 'stone' and Old Slavonic *stēna* 'stone wall.' On the parallel form ἱστίη see next section.

(2) The greatest difficulties in Greek vocalism are connected with the occasional appearance of ι where we should have expected ε (G. Meyer 57–60, 29; Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375 *sq.*), and of υ where we should have expected ο (G. Meyer 61, 62 ; Schulze p. 495 *sq.*).

A. (*a*) Some of the instances quoted of ι for ε rest on doubtful or impossible etymologies :

αἰγίλιψ, epithet of πέτρη in Homer and Aeschylus (Suppl. 794), is of unknown meaning (Monro), and can have nothing to do with λέπας 'rock.' Hesychius' λίψ· πέτρα ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει may go with λείβω.

ἴγγια· εἷς and ἴττον· ἕν, quoted by Hesychius as Cretan, are too obscure to be deduced from a root **sem-**: M. Schmidt suspects both glosses.

ἰλλάς 'rope,' ἰλλός 'squinting,' ἴλλω or εἴλλω 'wrap up,' ἴλλομαι 'move to and fro' can hardly have anything to do with Lat. *volvō*.

ἵππος cannot go with Lat. *equus*, Sk. *áçvas* : the aspiration is quite abnormal, and the Homeric form ought at least to be *ἴκκος, cf. πέλεκκον from *πέλεκ-Ϝον. The form ἴκκος in the Etymologicum Magnum may be Lat. *equus* borrowed (with ι from ἵππος), as ἀκκιπήσιος in Athenaeus is Lat. *aquipēnsis* borrowed.

κισσός 'ivy' cannot go with Lat. *hedera* from a root **ghvedh-**, or we should have *χισσός.

λικριφίς 'sideways,' with a strange termination, goes with Lat. *licinus* 'with upturned horns' and *oblīquus* (*i.e.* *ob-līc-vos) 'crooked'; not with λέχριος, which stands for *λέξ-ρ-ιος and goes with λοξός (De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 91, n.).

χθιζός is not directly from χθές, *i.e.* **ghjes**, but from an Ablaut **ghjẓ** with sonant sibilant, Thurneysen K.Z. 30. 352 ; the termination is **djó-**, cognate with Lat. *diēs*.

(β) In ἰγνύη ἴζω ἴθρις ἰστίη the initial vowel is reduplicative, as in ἰκτίς (κτίδεος) ἰχθύς (Arm. *jukn*) ἵπταμαι (πέτομαι) ἴσθι (Zend *zdī* 'be thou') as opposed to ἐχθές ἔγνωκα ἕστηκα : in such cases it would be absurd to talk of a change from ε to ι. So in νίσσομαι τίκτω the ι is reduplicative, as in τιθήνη δίδωμι τιτύσκεσθαι beside τέτανος δέδωκα τετυκέσθαι. Thus

ἰ-γνύη 'hollow of the knee' is reduplicated from the root of γνύξ, γνύ-πετος, Sk. *jnu* :

ἴζω[1] =*ἰ-σδ-jω from the 'reduced' root of ἕζομαι, ἕδος, Lat. *sedeō* ; and so ἱδρύω (the ι is short) =*ἰ-σδ-ρ-ύω :

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[1] ἱστός, properly Participle of ἵζω 'set up,' is used as a subst., 'mast, loom.'

ἴθρις· σπάδων and ἐθρίς· τομίας (so M. Schmidt reads for ταλμίας) in Hesychius may both go with θρίζω 'cut off':

ἱ-στίη is the Homeric form of ἑστία, see above. The Homeric compounds of ἑστία, and the evidence of Boeotian, Cretan, Heraclean, Locrian, and Sicilian inscriptions (Meister 1. 46), prove that neither form ever had an initial Ϝ: the Arcadian proper name Ϝιστίας can have nothing to do with ἱστίη, and is as obscure as the name Κάβαισος in the same inscription (Meister 2. 103).

νίσσομαι=*νί-νσ-jομαι, from the reduced root of νέ(σ)ομαι, νόστος:

τίκτω=*τί-τκ-τω, from the reduced root of τεκεῖν, cf. κάσις 'brother' from *τκ-n̥-τις.

(γ) We have i as Ablaut of je in Sk. vic- vidh- beside vyac- 'to extend' vyadh- 'to pierce,' and so I think in ὑπερ-ικταίνοντο 'they sped on' (Od. 23. 3) beside Sk. pra-yaksh- 'to press on.' The relation of ἴκτερος 'jaundice' (for the termination Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 4. 230, compares ὑσ-τέρā, γασ-τήρ) to jekv-, Lat. jecur, is not quite clear: we should have expected *ἴπτερος.

(δ) Homer's κίρνημι πίτνημι πίλναμαι (σ)κίδναμαι beside κέρασσα πέτασσα πέλασσα σκέδασα (ἐκέδασσα), Pindar's κρίμνημι[1] πίτνω beside κρέμασαν πετοῖσαι, Attic ὀριγνάομαι beside ὀρέγομαι, owe their ι to the analogy of reduplicated Verbs, they are formed after γί-γνομαι μί-μνω,[2] as Homer's σκιρτάω (root sker-, cf. σκαίρω) is formed after τί-κτω. So Pedersen Idg. Forschungen 2. 293 says 'the ι of σκίδνημι is due to the influence of ἵστημι τίθημι πίμπλημι etc.'

Homer's πίσυρες beside Lesbian πέσυρες must owe its ι to the preceding numeral, τρία τρίς τρίτος. So (Baunack K.Z. 25. 225 sq., Brugmann Grundriss 2. 165 sq.) ὀκτα- in compounds owes its -α- to ἑπτα-, Heraclean ὀκτώ and Elean ὀπτώ draw from ἑπτά their breathing and labial respectively, ὄγδοος borrows its consonants from ἕβδομος.

(ε) There is no clear proof of any confusion in the Ionic-Attic dialect between e and i: the Old-Attic forms Αἰνεᾶται—Αἰνιᾶται, Αὐλεᾶται—Αὐλιᾶται only show different ways of resolving the diphthong ει before a vowel, Delian στλιγγίς is an Assimilation (see J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 321 sq.) for στλεγγίς, Μινδαίων is a very late form for the earlier Μενδαίων on the coins of Mende in Pallene.

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[1] In the MSS. almost always written κρήμνημι (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375), see Aesch. Theb. 229, Eur. Herc. Fur. 520.

[2] Homer's πέρνημι kept its ε through the influence of its cognates περάω 'sell' and πέρην, Il. 24. 751 πέρνασχ', ὄντιν' ἔλεσκε, πέρην ἁλός.

But in the non-Ionic dialects the letters interchange so often that we can only explain the instances by supposing that in those dialects ε was pronounced 'close,' half-way to an 'open' ι, and so might be represented by either letter. Before a consonant we have this variation in

Arcadian ἰν beside ἐν, even in consecutive lines of the same inscription (Meister 2. 90): cf. Hesychius ἴγκρος· ἐγκέφαλος, ἰσχερῶ· ἐξῆς (i.e. ἐν σχερῷ):

Cyprian ἰν beside (Hesychius) ἔναυον· ἔνθες, ἴ(ν)θε beside ἐ(ν)θάδε (Meister 2. 210): cf. Hesych. πιλνόν· φαιόν (= Att. πελλόν):

Cretan ἰν and ἐν in the same inscription (G. Meyer 58):

Locrian γίνος (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 2. 168).

So the Sicyonians themselves called their city Σεκυών (Meister 2. 89): Hesychius has λεκροί and λικροί 'antlers' without designation of dialect. Before a vowel (Solmsen K.Z. 32. 513 sq.) we find this variation in Cyprian, Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian (excluding Larisa), and Doric:

Cyprian Θιόν and Θεῷ, μὶ and μὲ (Meister 2. 211):

Lesbian χρυσίω and χρυσέω:

Boeotian Θιός and Θεοῖς, δοκίει but καλέοντι:

Thessalian Λίοντα and Λέουν:

Laconian σιός and Θέωνα:

Heraclean Τιμοκράτιος but Fέτεος:

Cretan Θιός and Θεός, ἀμίων and ἀμέων, ἴωμεν and ἔωμεν.

We must therefore conclude that, however it was written, ε was always pronounced 'close' in Aeolic, Doric, Locrian, and Cyprian; and, at least when it stood before a consonant, in Arcadian also.

B. (a) The derivation of the following words is unknown, and we cannot say that the υ stands for o:

πρύλεες 'champions' (Hom.), cf. Cyprian πρύλις 'war-dance' (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 89).

πρύμνη 'stern,' πρυμνός 'hindmost': not from πρό, which would give just the wrong sense.

πρύτανις 'president': Attic also προτανεία προτανεύω (Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, p. 19), Lesbian both πρύτανις and πρότανις, the words being popularly connected with πρό.

πύλη 'gate': not from πέλω 'move,' which gives too indefinite a meaning.

πύματος 'last': Sk. pú-nar 'back' (Bugge B.B. 14. 68) has little resemblance of meaning.

σπύραθοι 'stercus' (Hippocrates), cf. Att. σφυράδες.

σπυρίς or σφυρίς 'basket': Lat. *sporta* goes rather with σπάρτον 'rope.'

τρύξ 'new wine': Eng. *dregs* cannot be connected.

ὕπεας 'awl' (Herodotus): Att. ὀπήτιον may take its ὀ- from ὀπή 'hole.'

So γλύφω 'carve' goes with Lat. *glūbō* 'peel,' Ags. *cleōfan* 'split,' not with γλάφω 'scrape.' In ὔλογος 'army,' ὔρραξ 'pell-mell' (Schulze 495), the first element is a dialectic form of σύν, not a 'copulative' ὀ-.

(β) In the following words the υ is formative, a stem-ending (Brugmann Grr. 2. 104, cf. 91, n.) :

ἄγυρις 'gathering' (ἀγών), ὁμήγυρις, πανήγυρις, Att. ἀγύρτης 'beggar': from a stem ἀγυ-, as ἀγορά ἀγείρω from a stem ἀγο- (ἀγε-), all cognate with ἄγω 'drive.'

αἰσυμνητής 'umpire': stem αἰσυ-, cf. αἶσ(F)α, see on αἶσχος, sec. 4.

ἄμυδις 'together' (the accent, as opposed to that of ἀμοιβηδίς, is from ἅμα)=stem ἀμυ- (on the breathing see sec. 3), as ἅμα from a stem ἀμό-.

διαπρύσιος 'passing through': stem πρυ-, from the root of περάω, see πράσσω, sec. 4.

δρύπτω 'I tear': stem δρυ- (δέρω), as δρέπω 'pluck' from a stem δρε-.

ἐπασσύτεροι 'one after the other,' of obscure formation: if it went with the Homeric ἀσσοτέρω (by-form of ἆσσον) it would be *ἐπασσσότεροι.

κροκύδειλος 'lizard,' Hipponax 119: stem κροκυ-, as κροκόδειλος from κροκο-, sec. 4.

μάρτυρος Hom., μάρτυρ Pind. and Att.: stem μαρ-τυ-, root mr̥-, as in βρα-βεύς 'umpire' (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 392).

νώνυμος Hom., νώνυμνος Hom. Pind., ἀν-ώνυμος ἐπ- ὀμ- Hom. Pind. Att., εὐ- πολυ- Hes. Pind. Att., δι- συν- ψευδ- πατρωνύμιος Att.: not 'compounds of ὄνομα,' as Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377 makes them, or they would end in -μων: they are from a stem ὠνυ- (for the ending cf. ἔτυμος ἥδυμος), as ὄνομα is from a stem ὀνο- (Bartholomae B.B. 17. 132).[1]

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[1] On ὄνομα and its cognates—among which Lat. *nōmen* must not be reckoned, it cannot be separated from *cō-gnōmen* and Old Slavonic *znamę* 'sign'—see further J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 267 *sq.*; Thumb K.Z. 32. 130 *sq.* ; Bezzenberger B.B. 10. 72; R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. 1. 77; Audouin Mém. Soc. Ling.

ὄρτυξ 'quail': stems ὄρτυγ- and ὄρτυκ-, cf., with other stems from the same root, Sk. *vartakas vártikā vartīras*, all meaning 'quail.'

ῥοφέω 'swallow' (Ionic): stem sru-, cf., with the same 'determinative' bh, sro- in Att. ῥοφέω (Ablauts srē- Lithuanian *sriėbiu*, sr̥- Lat. *sorbeō*), and, with a different determinative, sr̥- in Old Slavonic *srŭkati*.

ὑπόβρυχα 'under water': stem mru-, cf. Lat. *mare* (Hirt Idg. Forsch. 1. 475).

(γ) In ῥύζω 'growl' beside ῥόζω ῥοχθέω, and ῥύμβος 'bull-roarer'[1] beside ῥόμβος, we have different Ablauts: the ῥυ- represents vr̥- (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), the ῥο- represents vro-. It seems that in one dialect of the Ursprache vr̥ (vl̥) became ru (lu), in another the sonant took the same form as in other combinations: we have Sk. *ruc*- 'shine' *rudh*- 'grow' *lubh*- 'be lustful' beside *várcas* 'light' *vardh*- 'grow' *valbh*- 'enjoy' respectively, ὀρύσσω 'dig' and (nasalised) ῥύγχος 'snout' but Sk. *vr̥h*- 'to tear,' λύκος Lat. *lupus* but Lith. *wilkas*, see on σαυρωτήρ sec. 5.

(δ) In the following cases the v —like the u in Sk. *dhur- ush-hur-* beside *dhvar-* 'injure' *vas-* 'shine' *hvar-* 'be crooked' respectively—is Ablaut of vo or ve:

γυνή, gun-,[2] beside gven-, Goth. *qinō*, Old Irish *ben*, Old Slavonic *žena*, Sk. *janis*, and Elean βενέοι (μίσγοιτο τῇ γυναικί, Meister 2. 22).

ἐπι-σκύνιον 'skin over the eyes,' skun-, beside skven-tó-, Old Norse *skinn*.

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7. 61; G. Meyer Gr. Gr.[2] 77 and Albanesische Studien 3. 69; Brugmann Grr. 1. 219 fin. and 2. 340; Schulze 201 *sq.*; Persson 227. The forms in Celtic (Irish *ainmm* or *ainm*, Welsh *enw*) and Old Slavonic (*im̧e*) have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The root may appear in ὄνομαι 'blame, disparage,' *i.e.* 'name,' in our parliamentary sense, stigmatize. Arcadian Κλεωνόμω, Laconian πατρονόμου, seem to owe their third vowel o (for v) to a false connexion with νόμος.

[1] *i.e.* (Andrew Lang, Custom and Myth, p. 39), a fish-shaped piece of wood making a hideous noise when whirled·round by means of a piece of string. The Greeks themselves seem to have compared the shape of the bullroarer to that of the wryneck, ἴυγξ, with its long snake-like neck: 'the mad bird, the variegated wryneck of the four spokes, bound to an endless wheel,' which Aphrodite in Pindar (Pyth. 4. 381) brings to Jason to help him in gaining the love of Medea, can hardly have been a real wryneck, but a bullroarer spun round by means of a wheel. From the noise which this would make, not from the bird itself, which has not a loud cry, came the Homeric ἰύζω 'roar'; and, from the use of the bull-roarer in magical ceremonies, the meaning of ἴυγξ as 'charm, spell' (Pind. Nem. 4. 56) or 'yearning produced by a spell' (Aesch. Pers. 989).

[2] A Velar after or before v becomes Palatal, not Labial (De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 161 *sq.*).

θύρᾱ, dhur-, Lit. *dùrys*, Arm. *durn*, Sk. *dur-*, beside **dhvor-**, Zend *dvara*.

κύκλος 'wheel,' **kúkvlos**, beside **kvékvlos** Ags. *hveohl*,[1] **kvekvlós** Ags. *hveogel*, Sk. *cakrás*, and **kvokvl-** Lat. *poples* (an Oscan form, for *quocles, as *popīna* is the Oscan form of *coquīna*) 'ham of the knee' as being rounded (Bugge B.B. 14. 64, 65).

κύλιξ 'cup,' **kul-**, beside **kvel-** πέλιξ (Cratinus, Meineke 2. 64), and **kvol-** Sk. *kalaças*.

στύραξ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear,' **(s)tur-**, beside **(s)tver-**, see on σαυρωτήρ, sec. 5.

ὕδωρ, **ud-** Sk. *údan-*, beside **vod-** Goth. *vatō*, Old Slavonic *voda*.

ὕπνος, **súpnos**, Old Slavonic *sŭnŭ*, Arm. *khun*, beside **svépnos** Ags. *svefn*, and **svópnos** Lith. *sãpnas* (Lat. *somnus* and Sk. *svápnas* may represent either **svep-** or **svop-**).

πίσυρες πέσυρες (see pp. 8 and 2), **kvetur-**, Lith. *keturì*, beside **kvetver-** Lith. *ketwerì*, Old Slavonic *četverŭ*, Irish *cethir*, and **kvetvor-** Dor. τέτορες.

So apparently in

μύλη, **mul-**, beside **mvel-** Irish *melim*, Old Slavonic *melją*, Sk. *mar-*, and **mvol-** Goth. *malan*, Lith. *malù*, Arm. *malem* (Lat. *mola molō* may be either **mvol-** or **mvl̥-**, see below):

νύξ, **nukᵛt-**, beside **nvoktᵛ-** Lat. *nox*, Irish *nocht*, Goth. *nahts*, Lit. *naktìs*, Old Slavonic *noštĭ*, Sk. *náktis*:

φύλλον, **bhúl-jom**, beside **bhvól-jom** Lat. *folium*.

I.e., though no extant language has initial **mv**, **nv**, or **bhv**, the Greek forms here show that such combinations existed in the Ursprache. So (Brugmann Grr. 166. 170. 184) **v** is lost after initial **bh** in ὑπερ-φίαλος, Lat *fīs*, Old Slavonic *bĕ* 'he was'; and after medial **n** in Att. γόνατα ξένος φθάνω, and Old Slavonic *tĭnŭkŭ* 'thin.'

In five of these words we have a further Ablaut, the final liquid of the root becomes sonant:

γυνή : **gvn̥-**, Dor. γάνᾱ, Boeotian βανά.[2]

θύρᾱ : **dhvr̥-**, Lat. *foris*, Old Slavonic *dvĭrĭ*.[3]

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[1] So, I think, πέπλος 'robe' as being circular when spread out flat on the ground; whence in Latin it was called *cyclas*.

[2] Also, I think, Ionic (not 'borrowed into Attic from Boeotian' as J. Adam says of βάναυσος, Classical Review 7. 102): βάναυσος 'mechanical'—Herodotus 2. 165 opposes βαναυσίη to τὸ μάχιμον—=*βανᾰ-αυτ-jος (for similar shortenings in compounds see on ἔγχελυς, sec. 4) 'quite womanish,' the second element being from αὐτός in the sense of Homer's αὔτως 'merely, simply.'

[3] But not θαιρός, which was the pivot of a gate, πύλαι (Il. 12. 459), not of a door.

κύλιξ: **kvl̥-**, *κάλιξ, a form from which Lat. *calix* was borrowed.

πίσυρες: **kvetvr̥-**, Ion.-Att. τέσσαρες, Hdt. τέσσερες (ερ representing r̥, sec. 3 c, as in ἔρσην beside Att. ἄρσην), Boeot. πέτταρες, Oscan *petor*. (So Aeolic σύρκες may be from **turk-**, while Att. σάρκες is from **tvr̥k-**: the root is unknown.)

μύλη: **mvl̥-**, μάλη 'armpit,' cf. μύλη in the sense of 'kneepan': both parts of the body were named from their shape, the armpit concave like the upper millstone, the kneepan convex like the lower.

Why all these forms of Ablaut were used it is hard to see: plainly it had nothing to do with accent, whether of pitch or of stress. My own theory on the subject, Etyma Latina p. xxx., has as yet escaped notice.

(ε) In ὄνυξ from **onokhv-** (p. 1) the second vowel is due to Dissimilation, the dislike to having the same sound in two consecutive syllables: cf. with 'regressive' Dissimilation, the dialectic Attic Δηΐφυβος (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412). In **onokhv-** the second vowel was a genuine o, not one interchangeable with e: every other kind of o remains in Ionic-Attic in such a position, whether the preceding vowel be o, ὄτοβος ὀτοτοῖ (both onomatopoeic), ὀβολός ὀλοφώϊος ὀρόγυια ὀροφή beside ὀβελός ἐλεφαίρομαι ὀρέγω ἐρέφω respectively, ὄθομαι ὀλοός beside ὄθεται ὀλέκω, ὄνομα from a stem **ono-** (see p. 10),—or ω, Hom. πεμπώβολον Att. ἀμφώβολος τριώβολον, Archil. Att. ἀπ-ώμοτος Att. ἐπ- συν-, Hom. Att. ὑπωρόφιος: with the exception of πεντώρυγα in an Attic inscription of 330 B.C. (Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung 3. 412), διώρυγα etc. in Xenophon, Cynegeticus 2. 5, which owe their υ to the analogy of ἐπώνυμος etc., (see p. 10 fin.), since they stood to ὀρόγυια (Ar. Fragm. 661[1]) as ἐπώνυμα etc. seemed to stand to ὄνομα.

But in the non-Ionic dialects an o in such a position was pronounced 'close,' inclining to an 'open' υ, and might be written either o or υ: whether the preceding vowel were o, ὄνυμα in Lesbian, Boeotian (as ὄνιουμα), Thessalian, Phocian, and Doric (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377, Meister 1. 56), and ὄμυσυ (apparently for ὄμοσε, Bezzenberger B.B. 5. 327) in Pamphylian, — or ω, Epidaurian ὑπωρυφίας beside ὀροφά (Kretschmer K.Z. 378).

(ζ) Even apart from Dissimilation, in the non-Ionic dialects every *un-stressed* o seems to have been pronounced 'close' and written indifferently o or υ. Thus

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[1] Pind. Pyth. 4. 228 ὀρόγυιαν, and Sappho 98 ἐπτορόγυιοι, are mere conjectures.

(*a*) in the article, which like our 'the' was doubtless un-stressed, Pamphylian ὐ but Arcadian ὁ:

(*b*) at the end of a word, Lesbian ἀπὺ and ἀπὸ (the Grammarians give ϲεῦρυ as the Aeolic form, Sappho has ϲεῦρο), Arcadian ἀπὺ κατὺ[1] ἄλλυ[2] but ἐλύσατο, Cyprian ἀπὺ γένοιτυ ὠρίσετυ (never -το), Pamphylian ἐβωλάσετυ ἐπιήλοϲυ κατεϝέρξοϲυ. So before a final consonant, Cyprian Κεράμιυς Nom. Sing. (in other words -ος), Pamphylian βωλήμενυς and in the same inscription κεκραμένος, Ἐστϝέϲιυς Nom. and Κουρασίωνυς Gen.:

(*c*) in the first element of a compound, whether a monosyllabic Preposition, Cyprian ὐν-έθηκε and ὀν-έθηκε, both from n̥-, Att. ἀν-; or at the end of a disyllabic Preposition, Lesbian ἀπυ- and ἀπο-, Larisaean ἀπυ-, Arcadian ἀπυ- κατυ-; or at the end of a stem, Rhodian Ἀγαθυ-μβρότου and Τιμο-ρρόϲου, Pamphylian ϝοικύ-πολις and Νεγο-πόλεις.

Pitch-accent seems to have had nothing to do with this pro-nunciation of *o*, we have *v* in the oxytone syllable in ϝοικύπολις and may suppose it in *Ἀγαθύμβροτος.[3] On the other hand, except in the *later* Lesbian dialect, on which see below, this peculiar *v* seems to appear only in the unstressed syllable.[4]

In some sub-dialects *o* before ι, whether stressed or not, seems to have been pronounced 'close': the instances (G. Meyer 116; J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 394 sq.) are—Ionic (at Abu Simbel) ὔῖς, Cretan υῖ and ὄπυι, Euboean μέτυικος.

(η) In the *later* Lesbian dialect—that of Theocritus in his three 'Aeolic' poems, and of the poetess Balbilla, not that of Sappho and Alcaeus or of any early inscription—even radical *o* seems to have been pronounced somewhat 'close.' The Greek grammarians, who say that the 'Aeolians,' *i.e.* the Lesbians, 'turn *o* into *v*,' give μύγις ξύανον στύμα τύτε ὔμφαλος ὔπισθα ὄρνις as the proper Aeolic forms, though Pittacus (in Bergk) has στόμα, a Lesbian inscription ὄτε, Alcaeus ὄρνις; so that we cannot be sure that

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[1] For *κατὸ, which is to κατά as ὑπὸ to ὑπα- (Sappho).

[2] Homer's ἄλλυδις owes its *v* to ἄμυδις.

[3] So in Cyprian κυνύπισμα (Hesychius) 'wine made from the refuse of pressed grapes,' if Meister 2. 220 is right in making this = *κωνό-πισμα, from κῶνος 'resin' + πίνω : but M. Schmidt suggests κυνυ-πίεσμα ('juice pressed out').

[4] Cyprian δοϝέναι and δυϝάνοι seem to contain the same root in two forms, (1) δου- from ϲοῦ- (Wiedemann, Litauisches Praeteritum, 41 *sq.*), cf. Old Slavonic *davati*, and (2) δυ-, cf. Lat. *duim*, with ϝ develophence before a vowel, as in Chalcidian Ταρυϝόνης, Boeotian Εὐϝάγορος, cf. Epirotic Εὔβανδρος. Cf. respec-tively (1) δὸ(υ)- in Cyprian δώκοι, and (2) δῦ- in ἐπέδῦκε (Meister 2. 220).

the various readings δυνεῖ and ὄσδων in Sappho 40 and 4 are genuine. In a late inscription we have ὑμοίως, in Balbilla (Meister 1. 53) ὄμοι, in Theocritus ὄμοιον ὑμάρτη, in Hesychius ἐξ ὑμάλλων· ἐξ ὁμοίων, while Theocritus has στύμα, Hesychius μυρμύρων. These facts seem to show (1) that the 'close' pronunciation of radical o was confined to the later Lesbian dialect, and (2) that even in this later dialect the radical o was pronounced only slightly 'close,' since in all instances but those just given it is spelt o and not v.

(θ) As the Romance languages, descended from the dialect of the Roman lower class, make every Latin u into o, so the dialects of Western Cyprus (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 49 sq.) seem to have made every v into o: the town-name Σόλοι (in Cyprus) is in Plutarch Σύλοι (Meister 2. 220), we have ἰθονίκη in an inscription from Paphos (Deecke B.B. 6. 71), Hesychius quotes θοράνας μοχοῖ σοάνα (beside θύρᾱ μυχός ξυηλή) as Paphian, and his βόρμαξ ἐπτόκασεν ἰνκαφότευε κόμβος κρόσταλλος λοφνίς πέποσμαι σμογερόν (beside μύρμηξ ἐπύκασεν ἐγκαταφύτευε κύμβος κρύσταλλος λυχνίς πέπυσμαι ἐπισμυγερῶς) may belong to the same family. So also in some Boeotian dialect (G. Meyer 90), Ἀμόντας θοσίης; but Boeotian Εὐφροσόναν Σομφόρω, Attic Ὄλομπος, Laconian Κονοουρέων, may be due to Assimilation (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412), while Strabo's Ὀρμίνα for Ὑρμίνη (in Elis, Il. 2. 616, see Meister 2. 31) seems to show the influence of ὅρμος 'roadstead.'

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(3) Leskien's principle of 'Ausnahmslosigkeit,' that a phonetic law has no exceptions, is doubtless true within each dialect; but in Greek there were as many dialects as there are in English, and every poet and each of his hearers or readers must have been familiar with several. So ovis and bōs, words common enough, were loanwords in Latin (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 17 sq.), the proper Roman forms would be *avis and *vōs: the Romans said 'sedeo in solio,' though the l in the last word was Oscan. In 'the skipper met the shipper in a well-equipt skiff' we have four different dialects: in the Windhill dialect of Yorkshire the forms misen, misel, miseln (myself) are used without distinction, and 'probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects' (Prof. Joseph Wright, Dialect of Windhill, p. 122).

A. Whether an initial vowel should preserve its aspiration or not must have depended on dialect in Greek, just as it did in Latin and does in English: the lower orders at Rome, the linguistic progenitors of the Romance languages, must have dropt all their *h's*, and in England it is only the educated classes that keep theirs.

ἡδύς and ἦδος go together: the latter in Il. 11. 318 ἡμέων ἦδος 'satisfaction from us' has an ironical sense, which I detect also in cognate words with short vowel, viz. (*a*) ἄδος Il. 11. 88 (where it seems to have a digamma), and ἄδη or ἄδη (in Homer only in Acc.), 'satiety'; (*b*) ἀδινός or ἀδινός 'to repletion'; and (*c*) the post-Homeric ἀδρός 'thick, large,' quasi 'sufficient.' —In Il. 5. 203 ἄδην, also written ἄδδην, may be a contraction of *ἀ-σϝάδην 'without satisfying oneself' (Schulze p. 452 *sq.*); and so I would explain ἀδέω in Homer's ἀδήσειε ἀδηκότες, both also written ἀδδ-, as for *ἀ-σϝαδέω, 'am dissatisfied, displeased':

φροίμιον 'prelude,' beside προ-οίμιον, must come from *οἴμιον, as φρουρός comes from πρό+*ορός 'watcher' (ὁράω), and φροῦδος from *φρουδοῦ, *i.e.* πρὸ ὁδοῦ, 'ahead on the way,' Il. 4. 382. Homer's οἴμη 'song' will then be dialectic for *οἴμη, perhaps meaning 'connection,' arrangement of words, from a root **soi-**, Sk. *sḗtus* 'binding,' *si-*, 'to bind,' *i-μᾶς* 'band.' (Lat. *saeculum* then must be from some other root.)

B. In Lesbian we have ἴπερ ἴψος for ὑπέρ ὕψος (G. Meyer 91), in Larisaean ἱπέρ (Meister 1. 224), in Megarian αἰσιμνᾶτάς for αἰσυμνητής (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412 *sq.*), in Hippocrates both στριφνός and στρυφνός 'hard.' So I would explain κίναιδος 'wanton' as for *κύναιδος, *i.e.* κυνὸς αἰδῶ ἔχων, 'with as much modesty as a dog,' the dialectic form being employed to disguise the meaning.

C. The Lesbian representative of ṛ was ρο (G. Meyer 27), *e.g.* βροχέως θροσέως στρόταγος, Homer's ἤμβροτον beside Att. ἤμαρτον: so βροτός (cf. Sk. *mṛtás* 'dead') must have been Aeolic, the true Ionic word being θνητός, Dor. θνᾱτός. So ṇ is represented by νο in Alcaeus' γνόφαλλον beside Att. κνάφαλλον:[1] the root, as the varying initial proves,[2] was originally bi-aspirate, **ghṇ-bh-**,

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[1] On ϝα for ṇ in Ionic-Attic see Osthoff, Morphologische Untersuchungen v., preface: he quotes γνάθος, ναίω (*i.e.* *νάσ-jω), and, for μα from ṃ, ματεύω beside μεταλλάω.

[2] Cf. Hesych. ἀκαθόν· ἀγαθόν, *i.e.* the original form was *ἀ-χαθός, from 'intensive' ἀ- (see sec. 1) + a root ghadh-, Ablaut ghādh- in Goth. *gōds* 'good.'

cf. **ghne-bh**- in Att. γνέφαλλον, and with Metathesis (as in ὀμφαλός beside Ags. *nafela*) **ghem-bh**-, Old Slavonic zẹbǫ ‘I tear in pieces’ (wool being *carded* for use).

One dialect seems to have used ἐ-, not ἀ-, to represent the nasal sonant: Hesychius has ἐοσσητήρ· ἀοσσητήρ, and ἐγρυπνεῖ· ἀγρυπνεῖ, the first vowel in each being the ‘copulative’ prefix, originally **sm̥**-, sec. 1, c. (In ἀ-γρ-υπνεῖ, literally ‘is chasing sleep,’[1] and in ἄ-γρα ‘chace,’ ἀ-γρέω ‘seize,’ ζω-ά-γρια ‘reward for saving life,’ the ἀ- must be a prefix, the root **gr**-, **ger**-, as in Hom. ζώ-γρει ‘take alive,’ and Hesych. ἔγρηνται· ᾔρηνται.) So **r̥**=ερ in Homer’s ἐρι- and Θερσίτης beside ἀρι- and θάρσος, Hesych. ζέρεθρα and μέργιζε ‘gobble’ beside βάραθρα and μάργος ; and **l̥**=ελ in Hesych. ζέλλειν μελερόν beside βάλλειν μαλερόν. Again, with the consonant coming first (as in ματεύω γνάθος κραδίη πλατύς), we have **m̥**=με in Hesych. μέσταξ for μάσταξ, and **r̥**=ρε in Lesbian κρέτος for κράτος (G. Meyer 6), Hesych. ῥέμφος for ῥάμφος ‘beak,’ Boeotian τρεπέδδας beside (in another inscription) τραπέδδας (B.B. 17. 336, n.).

D. Homer’s ὀδμή = Att. ὀσμή, as Ἄδμητος = Att. Ἄσμητος (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 420) ; so Pindar’s κεκαδμένος ‘furnished with’ = Att. κεκασμένος, perhaps meaning ‘bound with,’ and going with the post-Homeric κῆδος ‘connexion by marriage’ —quite a different word from the Homeric κῆδος ‘care, mourning.’ Homer’s καίνυμαι ‘surpass,’ Perf. κέκασμαι, cannot be for *κάδνυμαι or go with κεκαδμένος, for Dental+ν would remain unchanged, as in ἀλοσύδνη πίτνω ἔθνος (G. Meyer 280) : I would explain it as for *κάσνυμαι (cf. εἴνῡμι for *ἔσνῡμι), from a root **kn̥s**-, Sk. çaṅs- ‘to praise,’ so that καίνυμαι will mean ‘am praised’ for something, Od. 4. 725 παντοίης ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένος ἐν Δαναοῖσι.

E. Herodotus (Rhys, P and Q Groups, p. 16), uses κ- for π- in words derived from the Relative stem, *e.g.* κότε κοῦ κῶς : thus his πρόκα ‘forthwith’ may stand for *πρό πα, *i.e.* πρό+the Instrumental (Brugmann Grr. 2. 274) of **kvo**-. Thus πρόκα will be identical with Lat. *prope* ‘near,’ an Oscan form (see p. 12 init. on *poples*) for *proque from *proqua (Brugmann Grr. 1. 973). — The -κα in αὐτίκα must be differently explained, apparently as **kn̥**, Ablaut of κέν ‘then’ (see Persson Idg. Fors-

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[1] Havet’s (and Benfey’s) connexion of ἄγρυπνος with ἐγείρω, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 111, is rightly controverted by Bréal, do. 172.

chungen 2. 228): the first element is *αὐτί, Location of αὖς
' ipse ' (Hesychius), while αὐτός is from the stem of αὖς + a
' determinative ' ο (see on θέσφατος, p. 1).

F.   Before ε or ι a Velar ought in Greek to appear as a Dental
(Bezzenberger B.B. 16. 254 *sq.*, Bechtel Hauptprobleme p. 356
sq.): the rule-right forms of βίος and βίᾱ, beside Sk. *jīv-* and
jyā- respectively, would be *δίος and *δίᾱ. The former appears in
διερός ' living ' (Fick B.B. 16. 287), and I think in δίεμαι ' hasten,
am *quick* '; of which the Perfect Active would be *δεδίωκα (as
that of ἀφίημι is ἀφέωκα, G. Meyer 559), whence was formed a
Present διώκω ' set in motion ' (G. Meyer 45).   The form *δίᾱ I
detect in

(*a*) δίᾱ́-κονος ' servant,' quasi βίᾳ κονῶν, ' compelled to work ':
the second element, as in Hesychius' κονεῖν· ἐπείγεσθαι, Homer's
ἐγκονέω ' hasten,' Att. ἀκονῑτί ' without trouble ' (Schulze 353, n.),
is from ken-, a parallel form of kven- in πονεῖν, as kel- in κέλλω,
κέλης, Lat. *celer*, is a parallel form of kvel- in πέλω ' move,'
Lat. *colō* :

(*b*) δίᾱ-νεκής ' continuous,' quasi βίᾳ ἐνεχθεις, ' brought on by
force, not to be stopt ': the second element being an unnasalised
form (as in Lat. *nactus*) of the root of ἐνεγκεῖν and Lat. *nanciscor*.

(4) It is often difficult to decide whether a word is a compound
or a derivative, or of what elements an admittedly compound word
is made up.

ἀζηχής in Homer always connotes sound : it is used of the cries
of pain, of a tumult, of the bleating of sheep, and of noisy eating
and drinking. I would therefore explain it as ' dry-sounding,'
from *ἀζός, Adj. of ἄζη ' dryness,' + ἦχος ' noise,' comparing
Il. 12. 160, κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αὖον ἀΰτευν, of a ' harsh, grating sound '
(Monro), and Verg. Georg. 1. 357 aridus . . fragor ' a jarring noise.'
Hesychius' ἀζᾱχ[έα] then will be the Doric form; his ἀζεχής is a
different word, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄζην ἔχειν, as the Scholiast on Il. 15. 25
gives the derivation of ἀζηχής (which Apollonius Rhodius uses
as = ἀζαλέος ' dry,' Wackernagel K.Z. 33. 51).

αἶσχος ' disgrace ' = *αἶσ-σχ-ος, from ais- in Goth. *aistan* ' to
observe,' Old High German *ēra* ' honour,' αἰ(σ)-δώς ' shame, respect '
(Bezzenberger B.B. 4. 313),[1] and αἶσ-(F)α ' apportioning,' giving

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[1] The δ is probably terminational, not from δίδωμι.

each his due share of honour.   The second element of αἶσχος
is the 'reduced' root of ἔχω, so that the whole word means 'having
observation,' getting oneself observed.   So πάσχω=*πάθ-σχω, 'I
have suffering, I suffer,' from πάθος, παθεῖν: Hesychius' πασχητιᾷ
shows that the Greeks themselves considered πασχ- the root.
There is no proof that *πάθ-σκω, with an Inceptive ending, could
give anything but πάσκω (which is the Elean form, G. Meyer 269):
μίσγω is not for *μίγ-σκω, but shows the same stem μισγ- as in
Homer's μισγ-άγκεια 'meeting of glens,' i.e. μιγ-σ-γ-, the root of
μίγ-νῡμι increased by s, and with the same termination (Brugmann
Grr. 2. 91) as σι-γή beside σι-ωπάω 'look silent' (Kretschmer
K.Z. 31. 471).

ἄνωγα 'command' means 'lead up' (Lat. in-dūcō, see sec. 1,
A), cause to do a thing: *ὦγα is an unreduplicated Perfect,
like οἶδα, from the strong form (as in ἀγ-ωγ-ός) of the root
of ἄγω.   So οἰμωγή 'wailing,' from οἴμοι+*ὠγή: for the sense
cf. κτύπον ἄγειν 'make a noise,' γέλωτα ἄγειν 'raise a laugh.'[1]
So I would explain πρᾱ́σσω as *πρᾱ-άγ-τ-jω, 'make progress,'
whence its Homeric use with a 'local' Genitive, e.g. Il. 24.
264 ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο 'advance on our way,' and so πρᾶγος
'business '=*πρᾱ́-αγ-ος: the first element is *πρᾱ 'progress,'
a Subst. formed like χρή and ὁμο-κλή (Brugmann Grr. 2. 896),
and standing to πόρος περάω much as δρᾱ- in δρᾶμα δράω stands
to Lith. darau 'I do.'

ἀργαλέος 'difficult' (the ἀ- must be long, as it is in Att.
ἀ̄ργός 'idle,' from *ἀ-Ϝεργός) means 'impracticable, not to be
done,' from ἀ- negative+(Ϝ)έργον.   For the contraction cf.
ἄ̄κων from *ἀ-Ϝέκων.

ἄρρατος 'unchangeable' (Plato) = *ἀ̆-Ϝρα-τος, ἀ- negative +
*Ϝρατός Participle from ṿṛ- 'to turn,' whence also (a), with a
termination -mo-, ῥόμος 'worm' (see sec. 3, C), Lat. vermis (from
*vormis), Goth. vaurms 'serpent'; with -mṇ, Lat. vermina 'colic,'
and (b) with a 'determinative' t, Lat. vortō-, Sk. vart- 'to turn,'
Elean βρατάνᾱ 'stirring-ladle' (Hesychius), and ὄρτυξ 'quail'
quasi 'dancing, turning round.'

διφθέρᾱ 'dressed hide' (Thuc. 2. 75 ἐέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας 'skins

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[1] With the literal sense of 'raise' we find ἄγω in ἀκτή 'raised land, coast,
river-bank,' cf. Soph. Oed. Rex. 183 βώμιον ἀκτάν 'the raised altar'; so in
ἄχθος 'weight, what one can lift,' cf. Soph. El. 119 ἄγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ λύπης
ἀντίρροπον ἄχθος, and the Attic use ἄγειν μνᾶν 'to weigh a pound, be able to
lift it.'

undressed or dressed ') means 'twice spoilt,' δίς+φθείρω, diverted
from its natural use as a covering for the beast, first torn off
(δέρρις from δέρω, with a termination -ρις as in ἄκρις ὄκρις, Brug-
mann Grr. 2. 98) and then tanned. Hesychius has a dialectic
form διψάρα, which goes with his ψείρει· φθείρει (G. Meyer
209 fin.).

ἔγχελυς 'eel' = *ἔγχύ-χελυς, 'snake with the mouth of a
tortoise,' χέλυς: *ἔγχυς exactly=Lat. anguis, since eng- becomes
in Latin ang-, frangō is for *frengō, cf. Goth. brikan.—On similar
shortenings in compounds, where the two middle syllables have
the same consonant or two similar vowels concur, see G. Meyer
302 and Schulze 427: Aeschylus Eum. 52 has βδελύκτροπος for
*βδελυκτό-τροπος, and so I would explain (a) παλαμναῖος 'suppliant
not yet purified' as for *παλαμο-μναῖος (as Παλαμήδης=*Παλαμο-
μήδης, Fick K.Z. 22. 99), 'with a deed of violence, παλάμη, in
his memory,' μνήμη; (b) στό-μαργος 'loquacious' as for *στομά-
μαργος 'mad of mouth'; and (c) ὑπεμνήμῦκε, Il. 22. 491, of an
orphan boy, as for *ὑπ-ε-μνη-ήμῦκε 'is bowed down in mind'
(quasi *ὑπήμῦκε μεμνημένος): though for ἡμύω 'bow down' I
cannot suggest any etymology.

ἔδαφος 'foundation' is marked by Brugmann, Grr. 2. p. 204,
as the only Neuter word with the termination -bho-: I therefore
take it as a compound of ἕδος+ἀφή ἅπτομαι, 'touching the seat'
or bottom, a Dissimilation of breathing for *ἕδαφος.

ἑτοῖμος 'ready' may mean 'striving after the way,' οἶμος;
the first element being (as Prellwitz Etym. Wörterbuch der
Griech. Sprache suggests) jet-, Sk. yat- 'seek to reach' (Middle).
In the Active Sk. yat- means 'to marshal, put in order'; and
with this we may connect ἐτεός, ἔτυμος, and (with the root in
its long form reduplicated) ἐτήτυμος 'true,' quasi 'regular.'
On the difference of breathing see sec. 3, A.

εὐρύς must be a compound, or we should have *εἰρύς,[1] as we
have Εἰλείθυια beside Ἐλευθώ: it seems a contraction of *ἐϋ-υρύς
'full wide' (Sk. urús). So εὐθύς 'straight' may be from ἐϋ-+θύω,
'rushing well,' going in a straight line. The first element appears
in three different forms: (1) esu-, ἐϋ-, ἐΰς 'brave,' with metrical
lengthening (Schulze 33 sq.) ἠΰς; (2) su-, the reduced form,
Sk. sú- 'well,' Greek ὑ- in ὕβρις beside βριαρός, ὑγιής beside

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[1] The only non-compound word in Greek with υ in both syllables is γλυκύς,
apparently a by-form of the *γλυκός which appears in Hesychius' γλυκή· βοτάνη
τις ἐδώδιμος.

Lith. *gyjù* 'I get well (De Saussure Mém Soc. Ling. 7. 89, Zubatý K.Z. 31. 52 *sq.*); (3) **sū**-, Sk. *sū̆-* ' well,' and I think Greek **v̄̆-* in **v̄̆θύs*, whence by Dissimilation (Osthoff Morph. Unters. 4. 190 *sq.*, though his explanation is very different) *ῑθύs*, the second element being *θύω*. As Zubaty points out, the parallelism of

> Sk. *sú*- ' well ' and *dush*- ' ill,'
> Zend *hu*- and *dush*-,
> Arm. *h*- and *t*-,
> Irish. *su*- and *du*-,

makes it difficult to separate *εὐ̆-*, as the correlative of *δυσ-*, from Sk. *sú*-, and put it with either Sk. *āyús* 'alive' or *ávas* ' favour.'—With *εὖ* I would put (*a*) *εὖτε* ' when ' or ' as,' in the latter meaning also *ἠύτε*, with metrical lengthening: the *τὲ* being superflous, as in *αὖτε*, *ὅς τε*, added on the analogy of clauses in which it really meant ' and.' Thus Il. 23. 62-65 *εὖτε τὸν ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε . . . ἦλθε δ᾽ ἐπὶ ψυχὴ*, literally 'well was sleep seizing him : the ghost appeared,' came to mean ' when sleep was seizing him, the ghost appeared;' Il. 3. 10-13 *εὖτ᾽ ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην . . . ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσαλος ὤρνυτ᾽ ἀελλής* means ' well does the south wind bring fog : so rose the dust,' *i.e.* ' as the south wind brings fog, so rose the dust '; and Il. 4. 277 *μελάντερον, ἠύτε πίσσα, φαίνεται* ' it looks blacker, quite pitchy ': (*b*) *εὔχομαι* ' boast, vow, pray,' literally ' use only *bona verba* ' about myself or the gods, the same termination appearing in *νήχω σμήχω στενάχω τρύχω ψήχω*, *στοναχή, διδαχή* (this from the same root as *δήω* ' I will find,' Zend *dā*- ' to know ').

ἐχθοδοπέω ' quarrel,' Il. 1. 518, means ' organise hostilities,' from the root of *ἔχθος ἐχθρός* + **dekv**- Old High German *gi-zehōn* ' to arrange,' with which Brugmann Grr. 1. p. 332 puts *δεῖπνον* ' dinner,' quasi **δέπ-ν-jον*.—Eng. *hatred*, literally ' arrangement (Ags. *raed*) of hate,' is a somewhat similar compound.

κροκόδειλος ' lizard,' an Ionic word (Hdt. 2. 69), = ' yellow coward,' *κρόκος* ' saffron ' + *δειλός*, from the colour and shyness of the animal. The application of the word to the crocodile must have been a Litotes, or joke.

λᾱρῑνός, properly used of an ox (Ar. Pax. 925), = ' with a fine hide,' *ῥῑνός*. The first element is the intensive prefix *λᾱ-*, as in *λᾱκαταπῡ́γων, λᾱκατάρᾱτος, Λάμαχος*, representing **λαε- i.e. *λασε-*,

as the similar prefix λαι- in λαίμαργος λαισποδίας represents *λασι-:[1]
both are from a root las-, Sk. las- 'to be lively,' reduplicated in
λιλαίομαι 'I desire,' i.e. *λι-λάσ-jομαι.[2]

μενοινάω 'desire eagerly'=*μενο-Φοινάω (for the shortening
of a compound see p. 20 on ἔγχελυς) 'am drunk with desire,'
μένει οἴνωμαι: cf. the Attic use of μεθύειν 'to be drunk with
passion.' In Il. 12. 59 μενοίνεον is wrong both in form (for
μενοίναον) and meaning ('were anxious'): Goebel, Homerische
Blätter, p. 15 sq. proposes to read μένοιεν ἄν.

νηγατέος, the Homeric epithet of χιτών and κρήδεμνον, may
mean 'such as never was,' οἷος οὔπω ἐγένετο (as I think the
post-Homeric ἄπλετος 'immense' meant οἷος οὔπω ἔπλετο), νη-
negative + a Participial form from γίγνομαι.   So Lat. ingens
'huge' means 'quod nondum genitum est.'

παιγνίη 'sport' (Hdt.) and παίγνιον 'toy' (Att.) are from
an Adj. *παι-γνός for *παιδ-γνός, formed after νεο-γνός, the
second element going with γίγνομαι. But the forms παιγμοσύνη
παιξοῦμαι πέπαικα owe their guttural to a mistaken explanation
of παίζω (i.e. *παίδ-jω) as for *παίγ-jω, since the -ζω in most
Verbs arose from -γjω: Curtius, Verbum 1. 317, gives thirty
instances of -ζω from -γjω, as against nineteen of -ζω from -δjω.

πώμαλα 'not at all' (Att.) is a negative which was originally
an interrogative: πῶ μάλα 'how, very much how'? The two
words were pronounced and accented as one, to show that the
μάλα qualified the preceding word and not anything that might
follow. So πῶ in Aesch. Agam. 1507 is a negation under
the guise of a question: Sidgwick rightly translates it 'nay.'
In meaning it differs from πῶς 'how?' no more than οὕτω
differs from οὕτως: in each case euphony alone determined which
form should be employed. So οὔπω and οὔπως, μήπω and μήπως,
are used interchangeably: in

Il. 2. 419 οὐδ᾽ ἄρα πώ οἱ ἐπεκραίαινε Κρονίων (see Fäsi),

Il. 3. 306 οὔπω τλήσομ᾽,

Il. 14. 143 σοὶ δ᾽ οὔπω μάλα πάγχυ θεοὶ μάκαρες κοτέουσιν,

Od. 2. 118 κέρδεά θ᾽ οἷ᾽ οὔπω τιν᾽ ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν,

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[1] For the difference in the final vowel cf. ἀρχέ-πολις ἀρχι-τέκτων (G. Meyer
81.).
[2] λελιημένος 'eager' is not from λιλαίομαι but from *λιάομαι 'I am much set
on a thing,' cognate with λῖαν λίην 'very much'; which itself seems to stand
for *λίϜ-ᾱν, 'smoothly, easily,' beside λεῖ(Ϝ)ος 'smooth,' with the same termina-
tion as πλ-ᾱν πλ-ήν 'except,' literally 'turning from' (e.g. πλὴν αὐτοῦ = 'away
from him'), from the root of πέλω 'move.'

Soph. Oed. Rex 105 οὐ γὰρ εἰσεῖδόν γέ πω,
and again

Il. 4. 234 μήπω τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς,

Od. 9. 102 μήπω τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν νόστοιο λάθηται,

Eur. Hec. 1278 μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρὶς τοσόνδε παῖς,

we might just as well have had οὔπως (μήπως). In many
passages οὔπω (μήπω) may conveniently be translated ' not yet ':
but in each it is the Verb that gives the connotation of time,
the particle denotes only manner (' not at all ').

σόλοικος ' foreign ' (=βάρβαρος, Herodian) must be a comic
formation from σόλος ' ball of iron '+the termination of ἄποικυς
ἔποικος μέτοικος σύνοικος, quasi ' lumpish dweller,' *heavy* citizen.

σφοδρῶς ' violently ' (Od. 12. 124 : σφόδρα and σφοδρός are
post-Homeric)=' acting for oneself,' from the roots of σφός ' their,
his ' and δράω, as in ὀλιγοδρανέων ' doing little, feeble.' So I
would deduce σφεδανόν ' eagerly ' (Il., in the phrases ἕπετο
σφεδανόν, σφεδανὸν ἔφεπε, ' he followed on his own way ') from
the stem of σφέτερος+the termination -δανο-, μηκεδανός, a by-form
of -δνο- in ἀλαπαδνός γοεδνός μακεδνός ὀλοφυδνός πελιδνός ψεδνός,
as the termination -τανο-, ἐπηετανός, is a by-form of -τνο- in
πελιτνός.

ὑπόδρα, in the Homeric phrase ὑπόδρα ἰδών ' looking fiercely at
him,' can have nothing to do with δέρκομαι, which would be giving
the same idea twice over, and in which case the word ought to be
ὑποδράξ, as the Alexandrians rightly had it. I therefore (Etyma
Latina s.v. *odium*) take ὑπόδρα as Instrumental (for the accent cf.
σφόδρα from σφοδρός) of an Adj. *ὑπ-οδ-ρός ' with covert hatred,'
from the root of ὀδύομαι (Schulze 341) ' am angry,' Lat. *odium*,
Arm. *ateam* ' I hate,' Old Norse *ötul* ' fierce ' (*e.g.* ötul augu
' fierce eyes '). With *odium* goes *atrōx* ' fierce ' (Lat. Consonant
Laws 22, see Thurneysen K.Z. 32. 562); so that, if I may coin
the Latin word, ὑπόδρα=*subatrociter.

ὦχρος (apparently Neuter) ' paleness ' is in Homer the colour
of fear, Il. 3. 35 ὦχρός τέ μιν εἷλε παρειάς, Od. 11. 529
ὠχρήσαντα χρόα, of a coward: it may mean ' egg-colour,' as
yellow as the yolk of an egg, τὸ ὠχρὸν τοῦ ὠοῦ (Aristotle).
The first element is the root of ὠ(F)όν (a post-Homeric word),
Lat. ōvum, Old Slavonic aje (which last proves the root to be
ō-, not ōv-); the second is a by-form of χρώς ' colour.' From
ὦχρος was later (first in Hippocrates) formed an Adj. ὠχρός
' pale, yellow.'

(5) Some other words may best be given in alphabetical order.

αἰετός 'eagle' (=*αἰϝετός, as Pergaean αἰβετός shows), Aratus' αἰητός,[1] may mean 'mighty one,' going with αἴητος, epithet of Hephaistos in Il. 18. 410, αἶα ' land ' (the ' mighty ' earth), and αἰανής 'everlasting.' The two last words Johansson, B.B. 18. 4, puts with αἰεί, αἰών, and Sk. *āyús* 'living': the common idea then will be 'full of life, strong.'

αἰνός 'terrible' may originally have meant ' bitter, cruel,' *ἀμ-jός (cf. βαίνω from *βάμ-jω, Goth. *qiman*), m̥- Ablaut to ŏm-, Lat. *amārus* 'bitter ' (on the first vowel see Latin Vocalism 5), ὠμός ' raw, cruel.'

ἄκων 'javelin' may go with ἄκυλος 'acorn ' and mean ' made of oak.'   So Schrader K.Z. 30. 461 connects αἰγανέη 'spear ' with Eng. *oak*.

ἀνδροτῆτα ' manhood,' occurring three times in the Iliad, is of course unmetrical : it may be corrected in several ways. (1) The most impossible of all is Clemm's, who reads *δροτῆτα from *νέδρο- τῆτα (ἀ-νέδρός): this in two places gives an un-Homeric caesura κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον (Monro, Homeric Grammar,[2] 367. 2), λιποῦσα *δροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, and in the third, Il. 24. 6 ποθέων *δροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος, will not even scan. (2) The idea that *ἀδροτῆτα could be a ' reduction ' of *ἀνδροτῆτα lacks support : ἀβρότη is epithet of νύξ in Il. 14. 78, and ἄμβροτος in Od. 11. 330, but the sense is different, ἀβρότη (like ἀμφιβρότη, G. Meyer, 179) is 'neu componiert' from βροτός, to mean ' void of men, unpeopled,' (καθ' ἥν βροτοὶ μὴ φοιτῶσιν Schol., ἐν ᾗ βροτὸς οὐ πρόεισιν Eustathius), and so in Aesch. Prom. 2 ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν (as Dindorf rightly reads for ἄβατον : Hesychius has ἄβροτον· ἀπάνθρω- πον).[2] (3) I would therefore read *ἀροτῆτα, as a parallel form to ἀρετήν, the ἀρ- in each case representing n̥r̥- (beside ἀ-νήρ). In Il. 2. 651 Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ we may read *ἀρεφόντῃ, with the same stem as ἀρετή.

ἀντακαῖος ' sturgeon' was a Scythian word, Hdt. 4. 53 : if this means Slavonic I would connect the word with ant- in ἀντί ' against,' Lith. *ant* ' up to,' and akv- in Lat. *aqua* (the Ur- Slavisch form would be *aka), and explain it as ' going up

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[1] For the varying quantity of the second vowel cf. ἀργέτι ἀργῆτι, ἀσκεθής ἀσκηθής, πρωτοπαγής εὐπηγής (Schulze 473 n.).

[2] From ἀβρότη Goebel, Homerische Blätter, p. 1 *sq.*, derives ἀβροτάζω in Il. 10. 65 μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν, ' walk by night to each other's hurt ': Hesychius has ἀβροτῆσαι ' to meet by night.'

stream,' since according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 9. 60) the sturgeon swims with its scales turned forward. Lat. *aquipēnsis* may mean the same thing, though I cannot explain the second element.— Another Scythian word, *ἄσχυ* 'hazelsap,' Hdt. 4. 23, may go with Polish *oskola* ' birchsap,' from a stem **askhv-**.

ἄντρον 'cave' may mean 'cul de sac,' and go with Sk. *ántas* ' end,' Goth. *andeis*.

αὖλαξ 'furrow,' *αὐλή* 'court' (within a high fence, Homer's *βαθέης αὐλῆς*), *αὐλός* 'flute,' *αὐλών* 'hollow way ' or 'windpipe,' may all go together, the common idea being 'hollow.' The stem then is **au-l-n-** from **ave-l-n-**, p. 1, whence also **ve-l-n-** in Lat. *vallis* (Persson 230 : *i.e.* *velnós*, with ' pretonic' *a*), Sk. *vāṇī* ' reed ' and *vāṇás* ' arrow made of reed.'[1]

βρέφος ' babe ' stands to *βραχύς* ' small ' much as *ἐλαφρός*, see note p. 11, stands to *ἐλαχύς* : the root of *βρέφος* must be **mreghv-**, as that of *βραχύς* is **mrghv-**, Goth. *ga-maurgjan* ' to shorten ' (Johansson K.Z. 30. 442 *sq.*). I detect a third form, **mr̥̄ghv-**, in *μόρφνος*, Il. 24. 316, ' the little one,' according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 10. 7) the smallest but one (the *μελανάετος*) of the six kinds of eagle.

δέλεαρ ' bait,' Laconian *βλῆρ* (Alcman 130), must mean 'dropt' into the water, from *βάλλω* (not, as Meister 2. 204 says, from a root **gvel-** meaning ' to split, tear '). In Od. 12. 252 the grammarian Callistratus read *ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ δείλατα* (' bait ') *βάλλων*, for *εἴδατα* (Schulze 102).

δεσπότης and Sk. *jáspatis* ' master of the house ' owe their *t* to a popular connexion with the words for ' lord,' *πόσις* (' husband ') and *pátis* : the proper form, as Old Slavonic *gospodĭ* ' lord ' shows, was **gvĕspod-**, the -*δ*- perhaps appearing in *δεσπόζω*. The further derivation is obscure : the word indeed may be un-Aryan.

δέχομαι in Homer and Att., beside *δέκομαι* in Sappho Pindar Hdt. and -*δοκ*- in compounds in all dialects, owes its *χ* to *ἔχω*, a word of cognate meaning : *i.e.*, to use Fick's convenient expression, *δέχομαι* ' rhymes ' with *ἔχομαι* (Middle).—With *δοκ*- may go *δοχμός* (*i.e.*, *δοκ-σ-μός*, as *πλοχμός* is for *πλοκ-σ-μός*, De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 91[2]) ' aslant,' a metaphor from a beast turning to ' receive ' the hunter, Il. 12. 147 (of

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[1] These must be quite different words from Sk. *vāṇī* ' music, tone ' and *vāṇás* ' music, hundred-stringed harp,' with which Johansson, Idg. Forsch. 2. 55 n., puts *αὐλός*

[2] Cf. *ῥωχμός* ' cleft,' Il. 23. 420, for *ῥωγ-σ-μός*, from *ῥήγνῡμι*.

boars at bay) ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν δέχαται κολοσυρτὸν ἰόντα δοχμώ τ᾽
ἀΐσσοντε περὶ σφίσιν ἄγνυτον ὕλην.

δῆρις 'contest' may mean 'spear-work,' from *δῆρϜις, dērv-
Ablaut to dōrv-, dōru, Sk. dā́ru 'piece of wood': cf., with
short vowel, derv- Lith. derwà 'pinewood,' dorv- δούρατα, doru
δόρυ 'spear.' This *δῆρϜις then became *δῆρρις, δῆρις, though
by ordinary Greek laws it should have become *δέρϜις, *δεῦρις;
much as *μηνσός became *μηννός (Lesbian μῆννος), μηνός, though
by ordinary Greek laws it should have become *μενσός, *μεισός.
In other words, the law that rv became ρρ was earlier in
operation than the law that ērv- became ερϜ, as the law that
ns became νν was earlier in operation (Brugmann Grr. 1. 611)
than the law that ēns became ενς.

εἰκῇ 'at random' seems a Litotes for εἰκότως 'as we should
have expected, simply, naturally,' Soph. Oed. Rex 979 εἰκῇ
κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις. It is then Instrumental of an
Adj. *εἰκός, seen in εἰκο-βολεῖν 'to aim at random,' cognate with
ἔοικε 'it seems.'

εἰπεῖν 'to say' may mean 'to clear up,' veikv-, cf. Sk. vic-
'to sift, separate, examine.'

ἐπί-σταμαι 'know' seems formed from the Adj. ἐπιστήμων
(Od. 16. 374) 'knowing,' literally 'setting oneself to a thing.'
The Subst. ἐπιστήμη 'knowledge' appears first in Hippocrates.

ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter' must be formed from Ἑρμῆν (Acc. of
Ἑρμῆς), taken as a stem: Hermes was the god of speech, λόγιος
(Lucian). So Ζῆν, Acc. of Ζεύς (Il. 8. 206), being taken as a
stem produced in the Tragedians the forms Ζῆνα Ζηνός Ζηνί.

ἧτρον 'abdomen' ('wind' in our pugilistic sense) stands to
Old Slavonic větrŭ 'wind' as Lat. venter (see Etyma Latina)
stands to ventus: ἧτρον is from (a)vē-, ἄημι, with a termination
-trom, as venter, stem ventri-, is from vent- (a Participial form
from the same root, Brugmann Grr. 1. 612), with a termination -ri-.

κάλλαια 'a cock's wattles' may mean 'beauties,' *κάλλαιος Adj.
from *καλλή by-form of κάλλος (as εὐχή of εὖχος).

κλοιός κλῳός 'wooden collar,' i.e. *κλωϜ-ι-ός, shows the same
stem klv- as Lat. clāva 'wooden club.'

κωλύω 'hinder' is a Dissimilation for *κυλύω (as κωκύω 'howl'
for *κυκύω, Lith. kūkiu): with a short vowel the root appears in
κυλλόω 'cripple,' and Sk. kuṇis 'crippled in the arm' (Fortunatov
B.B. 6. 216).

λᾶός ought in Ionic to be ληός, as it is in Hipponax, and perhaps

once was in Homer (Monro, Hom. Gramm.² p. 390). From λη̄ός I
would deduce (a) λήϊον 'crop,' the produce of ' common ' land, and
(b) λη̄ΐς λη̄ΐη λεῖα ' booty,' public property before it was divided
among the combatants, cf. λείας ἄδαστα Soph. Aj. 54.

ματάω 'linger' (Il.) and μάτη 'folly' (Tragg.) are from **mṇ-tós**
Part of μένω, with the same transition of meaning as appears in
Eng. *dwell* and *dull*.

μείων ' less,' for *μη̄-jων (G. Meyer 391), goes with Sk. *mā-* ' to
measure,' and so means 'more measured,' μετριώτερος, not so
immense.

μη-νύ̄ω, Dor. μᾱ-νύ̄ω 'make known,' is from **mṇ̄-** Ablaut of **mṇ-**
in Lat. *mens*, Sk. *matis* ' thought.' For the transfer of meaning
from ' think ' to ' declare ' see on ἀείδω, p. 4.

μογοστόκος, epithet of Eileithyia in Homer, of Artemis in
Theocritus, cannot mean, as Brugmann Grr. 1. 204 makes it,
' causing pangs,' from *μόγονς Acc. Plur. of μόγος : τίκτω is not
used metaphorically in Homer, and such a use would be peculiarly
inappropriate in connexion with the occasion. Liddell and Scott
rightly translate it ' helping women in hard childbirth,' protectress
τῶν μόγις τεκουσῶν : the first element is an Adverb *μόγ-ος (with
the same termination as πάρ-ος) from a stem μογ-, whence with
Locative ending, and the same s as in ἀμφί-ς, we get μόγις ' with
difficulty' (accented like the Subst.), and, with a determinative
-ο- (see on θέσφατος, p. 2), μόγος ' labour.'

μῦ̄ωψ ' gadfly, goad ' means ' flylike,' stinging as a fly does :
from μῦ̄α, the Attic form of μυῖα (Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 5. 77,
where Liddell and Scott wrongly make it the name of a plant),
+ ὦπα. Prellwitz derives it from μυῖα in the sense of ' buzzing ' ;
but this will not suit the meaning ' goad.'

νεᾱλής ' fresh ' is not a compound of ἁλίσκομαι, but a by-form of
*νεᾱλός (as δαψιλής is of δαψιλός, ἀλουργής of ἀλουργός), from a
Subst. *νέᾱ ' youth,' whence also νεᾶνις, νεᾱνίᾱς. For the termi-
nation cf. ἀπατηλός, σῑγηλός.

νοῦσος=*νόσ-Ϝος (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 471), which I would
connect with νέ(σ)ομαι ' come ' : thus Od. 9. 411 νοῦσος Διός
means ' the visitation of Zeus,' and Soph. Ant. 421 θεία νοσος, of a
whirlwind, ' the visitation of heaven.'

παφλάζειν ' to foam ' must be from an Adj. *παφλός (or *παφλάς,
cf. γυμνάς beside γυμνός), from the same root as πέμφιξ πομφόλυξ
' bubble.' It cannot be, as Prellwitz makes it, a Reduplication
from ἔφλαδον ' they burst,' which would give *παιφλάζειν (Brug-

mann Grr. 2. p. 1084): παμφαίνω 'shine' must be formed on an Adj. *παμ-φανής 'all shining,' whence also παμφανόων, while παπταίνω 'look round' must be from a root kvn̥kvth- (or whatever the last letter may be), kvenkvth-, whence, without the nasal, Sk. *caksh-* 'to see' (Fick B.B. 18. 134).—So τετρεμαίνω must be from an Adj. *τε-τρεμανός, not straight from τρέμω, or we should have *τιτρεμαίνω, like τιταίνω; and τετραίνω 'pierce' from an Adj. *τε-τρανός, or we should have τιτραίνω (the form used by Theophrastus).

πεπνυμένος 'wise,' νόον πεπνῦσθαι 'to have understanding' Od. 10. 495 (see Goebel, Homerische Blätter, p. 24), go with ποιπνύω 'am busy,' the common idea being that of *strength* : the root is kvneu-, Old High German *pi-hniutan* 'to glorify,' πνύξ 'meeting-place of the Ecclesia,' quasi 'enclosure, stronghold.' Thus πνέω 'blow' must originally have been used of the wind blowing strong, and then transferred to the breathing of human beings.

πεπτηώς· δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ δειλίαν πεπτωκώς, says Hesychius: in Homer the word always means 'fallen,' *e.g.* Od. 14. 474 ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες κείμεθα 'we lay on the ground, with our shields over us,' and Il. 2. 312 (of young sparrows) πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες 'at the bottom of the nest, under the leaves.' It has no more to do with πτήσσω 'crouch' than has καταπτήτην in Il. 8. 136, of horses falling under the car: horses do not crouch down when they are frightened, but struggle to get away.

πηγή 'fountain' must go with πηγός 'big,' the Homeric epithet of horses and waves, and Sk. *pajrás* 'strong': it means a place where the water is strong enough to force its way out.

πίθηκος πίθων 'ape' must go with πίθος 'jar,' and means 'rotund, pot-bellied.'

πρόχνυ means 'wholly' in Homer, as it is allowed to mean in Apollonius Rhodius: it has nothing to do with γόνυ (which would not account for the χ),[1] in Il. 9. 570 πρόχνυ καθεζομένη means 'sitting right down,' not 'sitting on her knees,' which would be an impossible feat. I would deduce the word from *πρόξ, formed from πρό as πέριξ is formed from πέρι, and, I think ἅπαξ from *ἅπα Instrumental of *ἁπός, *i.e.* sm̥kvós, from sm̥- 'together' (see 1, C): for the sense cf. Lat. *prōrsus* 'utterly,'

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[1] Sk. *prajnus*, quoted by Fick, Wörterbuch⁴ 1. 432, is unauthenticated, and at best only means 'bandy-legged.'

from *prō*. The second element is the **-nu** which appears in Cyprian ὄνυ 'this,' Arcadian τάνυ 'these things,' Goth. *thannu* 'so then,' and I think πάνυ 'altogether' (*i.e.* πn̩-νυ, the first element going with Lat. *pen-itus*, Sabler K.Z. 31. 371), see Persson Idg. Forsch. 2. 251: **πρόξ-νυ* became πρόχνυ by De Saussure's law, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 90, as **λύξ-νος* (cf. Zend *raokhshna* 'shining') became λύχνος.

ῥῆγος 'rug' (Hom.), ῥέγος (Anacreon), ῥέζω 'dye' (Epicharmus), and ἀλο-υργής 'dyed with sea purple' (Att., see Schulze 498, *n.*), must go with ῥήσσω 'beat the ground' (Il. 18. 571), cloth being stamped on to make the dye penetrate : so German *walken* 'to clean cloth' is the same word as Eng. *walk*. The root must be **vreg̑-**, Ablaut **vr̩g-** in ῥάσσω 'push': Sk. *raj-* 'to be red' cannot be connected, if only because the meaning would be too narrow.

σατίνη 'chariot' may be a Persian word, standing for **ξατίνη* (as σατράπης stands for **ξατράπης*, Old Persian *khshatrapāvan-* 'viceroy'), and going with Sk. *kshat-tár-* 'charioteer.'

σαυρωτήρ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' must mean 'twirler,' from a Verb **σαυρόω*, itself from a Subst. σαῦρος, originally, I would suggest, meaning 'a stirring-stick,' and hence coming to mean 'a lizard,' which when motionless looks like a piece of wood. This σαῦρος=**τϜάρ-Ϝος*, from a root **tvr̩-**, whence also Lat. *trua* 'stirring-ladle' (on the *ru* see p. 11 med.), ὀτρύνω 'urge,' ὀτραλέως 'quickly'; Ablauts (1) **tur-** in τορύ̈νη 'ladle,'[1] a Dissimilation for **τυρύ̈νη*, as κόκκυξ is for **κύκκυξ*, Lat. *cucūlus*; (2) **tvor-** in Old Norse *thvara* 'stirring-stick'; (3) **tver-** in Ags. *thviril* 'churn-handle,' Eng. *twirl*, Old High German *dweran* 'to mix up,' Sk. *tvar-* 'to hasten.' From a by-form **stver-**, **stur-** (see Schrijnen, Phénomène de l' S Mobile) comes στύραξ, p. 12.

σῶμα, which in Homer always means 'dead body, carcase,' may go with σῶς 'safe,' and mean 'remnant, what has escaped being eaten by dogs or birds': Il. 3. 23 ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας.

τόσσαις 'being,' ἐπιτόσσαις 'finding' (both in Pindar), seem to point to an Aeolic Verb **τόσσᾱμι* 'I do so much,' from τόσσος.

φύλαξ 'guardian' may originally have meant 'the man in the house,' οἰκέτης, **bhu-l-** being Ablaut of **bhōu-l-** in Old Norse *bōl* 'lair' (Wiedemann Lit. Praet. p. 137, despite Kluge

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[1] Fick, Wörterbuch[4], 1. 499, adds τῡρός 'cheese'; but this is not made by stirring, though butter is.

K.Z. 26. 97), bhō-l- in φωλεύω 'lurk,' φωλάς 'in his den ' (of a bear). So φῡλή 'tribe' may originally have meant 'house' in the sense of Lat. *gens*.

*χέρης, used by Homer in the forms χέρηα, χέρηι, χέρηες, must go with χείρ and mean 'belonging to a handicraftsman,' χερνής, as opposed to a warrior. Thus it is used contemptuously, Il. 1. 80 βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηι ('a low fellow '), Od. 15. 324 οἷά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρώωσι χέρηες; and so in the Neuter, Il. 14. 382 ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔδυνε, χέρηα ('those fit for an artisan ') δὲ χείρονι δόσκεν. In Od. 14. 176 οὔτι χέρηα πατρός, 'not like a handicraftsman beside his father,' we have a Genitive-Ablative of comparison, such as Brugmann Griech. Gramm.[2] 183 finds in Thucydides' πόλεμον ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενη- μένων 'most notable in comparison with those before.' The Comparative of *χέρης is χερείων or χείρων 'more fit for an artisan,' or, as in Il. 14. 382 above, 'more like an artisan.' But in another view battle was called ' handwork,' χάρμη (with the ' reduced ' root χr̥-); and with this I would put χερμάδιον ' a stone used in battle as a missile.'

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